1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[8] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[8] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pɛhɛ''tsiŋ t'a'ŋa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ŋalita kumto'ca.

515 224 789 [343]

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[*] who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

[114] [177]

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (ai'yɔs kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

224 756 787

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113]

[*] Kroeber, Handbook, 572.

881 active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm
[271] water. In the old days anything that she gathered
[262] anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat
[263] meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the
same as meat."

(This last statement was in response to direct
[124] questions and does not reflect special Washo traits.
[262] In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for
four days.)

[574] The family of the girl immediately prepares as
much food as possible to feed the guests. One inform-
[202] ant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl
eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way
up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing
[778] and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may
go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a
wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made
of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted
red with a native pigment.

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville
staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill
[178] nearby. During the night the girl was required to run
to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice
has been discontinued for many years, however, ap-
parently as a result of white accusations that the In-
dians started range fires and also to avoid attracting
curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran
forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran
with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position
in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure
the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As
[824] long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl
will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female
relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of
sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms,
[782] and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal
prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head,
arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early
in the morning so that you will get up early in the
[431] morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown
[178] into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usu-
ally a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently
used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought
forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then
thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high
point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few
[302] dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and
face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real
way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a pu-
178 berty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at
least some of these activities were observed (although
the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance).
Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There
were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The par-
ticipants had taken up a collection and purchased water-
[574] melon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the
feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the re-
porter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two
girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle car-
rying long wands.

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P.378, B] When the husband of one
764 of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
178 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the men sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
[821] ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
515 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
783 ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is
775 supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death, or have not been given the things they wanted when
[768] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
[551] murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirlwinds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
[821] ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over. 312 [515] [796]

Material Culture

[361]

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941). 433 [192] [114]

A. Housing and related items.
   1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal. 342
   2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B. 343
   3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
   4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
   5. Meat drying scaffold (bialt). 417
   6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark. 251
   7. Fireplace (diyu itgumsčwč) and torch (ulu ushi). 352
   8. Log footbridge (mogahat). 354
   9. Log ladder (bakmanga). 491
   10. Fish dam (imbeshuk). 226

B. Clothing and ornaments.
   1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C). 291
   2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
      a. belt (melliu)
      b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwa)
      c. poncho (damu)
      d. skirt (tsilugčl)
      e. dress (mangumtash)
      f. apron (imboshude)
      g. moccasins (moko)
      h. headband (ihčpbeyčgul)
   3. Leggings (pčkishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
   4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodihčp). [302]
   5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network. 481
   6. Bracelet (mčliuyčk), necklace (umlčsuk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau). 301
   7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills. 412
   8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (wčlysuwi). 386
   9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle. 302
   10. Scratching bone for tattoos. 237 304

1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/4 [see cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

755
178
756

(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

527
791
824
222
[787]
[782]
[535]

One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

222
824
527
[791]
[262]
[211]
[624]

Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabʔal) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526
527
[515]
[525]
[616]

The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

526
527
[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

527
535
(412) The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced
(515) and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[252] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1928, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

(782)
(515)
(222)
(782)

527
178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. 756
Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon
rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, [178]
but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle
feather represents Rupert's eagle wegelévu and the bone his Hindu wegelévu.
Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although [755]
the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. 755
Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down 756
with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegelévu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. [262]
During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On [263]
the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; [515]
after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath.

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer [483]
or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

844
[272] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother
[263] from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

846
[262] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days
[515] later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939,
[834] 303). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

844
[412] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord
[752] bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[2] was put on next to the abdomen
[824] and cottonwood tree bark (tšša? ʔí·ł) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

854
[853] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to
[757] suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or
[824] rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844 After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in
[842] order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on
[754] the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[2] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[415] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of
[431] her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is con-
[431] cealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

177
178 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
821 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
525 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the
524 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
535

All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
881 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
574 the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days
[431] later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwíʿya, melehéhe? and ʿeʔwéʔwe?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given 881
to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then 224
eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns [777] over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting [515] and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed [782] was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. 584 The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, [527] the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it

765

Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more." [515]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in front of the deceased's close relatives. [775] [551]

765 824 789

Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

764

Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result. [787] [761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

764 775

"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.' [782]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 302

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kk	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
Hair Dressing														
1366. Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1367. Grass bundle	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1368. Rye-grass-root bundle (mai'ava)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1369. Rabbit-brush bundle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
1370. Men's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1371. Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1372. Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1373. Coiled on head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1374. Tied up on head	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1375. Bangs	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1376. Front lock sticks up	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1377. Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1378. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379. Braid is fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379a. Sea-otter (pasuga) fur used	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381. Woman's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382. Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1383. Tucked under basket hat	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1384. Tied back of neck	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1385. Middle hair part	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1386. Braid over each shoulder	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387. 1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388. Bangs	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1389. Tied on top of head	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1390. Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1390a. Bone tubes	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1391. Red paint	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
1392. Red paint in part	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
1393. Marrow	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1394. Mud against lice	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
1395. Braids fur wrapped	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396. Washing: with plain water	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1397. With white clay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1398. Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400. Depilation: of beard	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1401. Of eyebrows	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1402. Of pubic hair	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1403. With stone flake	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
1404. With fingernails	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1405a. Bone cup or tube for hair oil	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1405b. Pericardium for grease	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Headgear														
1406. Woman's basketry hat	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1408a. Men's bark hat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1409. Men's fur cap	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1410. Tanned buckskin	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1411. Fawnskin	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1412. Antelopeskin	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1413. Mt. sheep lambskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1415. Muskratskin	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1416. Beaverskin	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1416a. Badgerskin	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1417. Wildcatskin	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1418. Coyoteskin	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
1420. With quail tufts	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
1421. With other feathers	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422. With horns	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
1423. Hair net	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+

NWA [515]

NWA [235]

NWA 281 291

[p. 392]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.